3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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837 small degree, and in no few respects, the happiness and comfort of their wives. In such a case of amour, the female he is attached to never offers to associate with the wife during the time she cohabits with the husband; for this would be thought a great insult, though afterwards she may, as freely as if nothing had happened, even though the wife may have [152] known of the transaction. The women of course feel occasionally much jealousy, but it is seldom strongly expressed, and very rarely produces any fatal consequences: pride generally causes them to conceal this passion.

836 With respect to the unmarried men, their conduct is of course free, but they seldom make any deliberate attempts upon the chastity of 839 other men's wives. Rape, however, sometimes happens, and young chiefs are the perpetrators: but if a woman is known to be married, even though her husband be only a *tooa*, it would most likely save her from this outrage; and if she did not choose to give her consent, she might go free without farther molestation. [727] When a woman is taken prisoner (in war), she generally has to submit; but this is a thing of course, and considered neither an outrage nor a dishonour: the only dishonour being to be a prisoner, and consequently a sort of servant to [684] the conqueror. Rape, though always con-

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sidered an outrage, is not looked upon as a crime, unless the woman be of such a rank as to claim respect from the perpetrator.

When all things are taken into consideration regarding the connubial system of these people, their notions of chastity, and their habits in respect of it, we shall have no reason to say but what they keep tolerably well within those bounds which honour and decency dictate*;

* It may be objected that such habits as we have been describing must often lead to a disregard of public decency, and which therefore must be very bad for the morals of the younger branches of society of both sexes, by making them acquainted with what they ought not to have any idea of, before the voice of nature whispered the important secret. In reply to this, we must observe, that no nation can well pay greater attention to public decency than the Tonga people: but at the same time we acknowledge, that conversation is often intermingled with allusions, even when women are present, which could not be allowed in any decent society in England: this, however, is never done if married women, or chiefs superior to the speaker, are near; because it would be disrespectful: but such subjects are not the result of depraved notions, they are rather the offspring of the imagination, and occasionally hazarded as vehicles of joke and humour. Notwithstanding this, the blush of female modesty suffuses the cheek in these islands as well as elsewhere, although the occasion of it is not so much considered an offence: though the females are very deficient in artificial modesty, they amply make up for it by the more genuine feeling of natural bashfulness. Those among us whose morality is almost skin deep, and who make a vast account of outside appearances, will perhaps condemn them for this.

In respect to children of both sexes, it must be acknow-

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592 554 556 178 of "eldest" on account of their personal power, this development is today aided by the greater opportunities of acquiring property and wealth.

b) Love Life, Nuptials, Birth, Death

Love Life

836 The young native men who are of marriageable age but as yet unmarried enjoy considerable freedom in their association with unmarried Tongan women, which is publicly acknowledged insofar as those who are successful in love affairs are well thought of. An important restriction, however, is the fact that most parents would like their daughters to enter marriage as virgins, and they protect them in accordance with this--likewise publicly acknowledged--moral law. This contradiction has led these people who, despite puritanical mission work, remain sensual, to develop a system of pre-marital relationships in which very many young Tongan men achieve their goal and some girls take part. In general, pre-marital intercourse may be described as rather frequent--insofar as it is possible to assess these hidden acts. However, it is probably not as considerable as [178] it was before the time of the missions (that is to say, in ancient Tongan times). Intercourse takes place less out-of-doors (in the bush) than in houses (mostly at night). There is definite discrimination in this free love life. On Nomuka (population 567) there are, for example, only three Tongan women with whom any man may have intercourse. Many young men on the same island want certain girls who, however, do not yield, either as a matter of principle (less often) or because, in their secret thoughts, they have men of their choice who are not aware of this or do not wish to know. Many a 839 rejected young Tongan tries to attain his goal forcibly. In Tonga, rape /74/ is probably the most frequent offence, next to theft in

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839 the plantings. As in olden times, (210)

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210. Rape in ancient Tonga was not regarded as a crime if women were not married or not of higher rank than that perpetrator (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 107, 167); perhaps rape, for which Mariner mentions young chiefs in particular, became more frequent among commoners after their "liberation."

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it is often not regarded as a crime. However, if such a deed is not forgiven by the girl who was attacked and if, subsequently, in the family counsel it is not "equalized" with some recompense, there follows a legal hearing (as a result of a charge by the raped girl) and the perpetrator must expect a term of imprisonment. On Nomuka, for example, from July 1951 to January 1952, there were four charges of rape in which eight young Tongans were involved. Most of them took their jail sentences calmly, knowing that they "had achieved

848 their goal." Although no one tries to prevent pregnancy, the number of illegitimate births is not as high as one might expect. For example, in Fungamisi/Vava'u (263 inhabitants) in April 1952, among 128 children only 12 were illegitimate, born to six unmarried girls. (211)

211. This is probably only slightly above the present average in Germany. For the entire Archipelago 9.89 per cent and 11.20 percent were the figures officially given for 1950 and 1949 respectively. (Report of the Department of Justice, for the Year 1950/ cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p. 3.)

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The natives explain this disproportion by saying that very frequent intercourse is required to produce a child. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant her parents are at first annoyed and probably reproach her bitterly. But the girl is often happy about the expected child, frequently sees in it a help in years to come, and will still be quite able to find a husband. However, girls who are unpopular